2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

says that aged people are not in favor; they are beaten by their own children and are often forced to leave their dwellings and to beg from house to house. They are not admitted by the rich and poor people force them to do hard work, like dressing skins (Figs. 17, 18), for every bit of food.

The Yakut look for brides for their sons not only outside of their clans (*us*, *nasleg*), but outside of the *ulus*, or union of clans. A girl, say the Yakut, is really a lot of aliens. This saying is reminiscent of the old time marriage by capture. Marriage is now also exogamic, but *kalym* (bride-price) is given in money, cattle, and other goods. Practically, the *kalym* may be regarded as an exchange of presents. What the parents of the bride receive from the parents of the bridegroom is almost equivalent to what they give her when she leaves their house. Often the bride carries with her cattle and goods of a greater value than her parents received that she may not be reproached by the bridegroom's relatives for bringing only a small dowry with her. The young bride remains under the protection of her clan and family. Many common law customs regulate disagreements and dissensions: If a young woman leaves her husband because she dislikes him, her dowry remains with him; but, if she accuses him of cruelties, relatives on both sides decide the matter. The Yakut do not like to appeal to the Russian courts.

We have previously mentioned the exogamic character of the Yakut marriages, but some other tendencies have been observed in the northern districts of Yakut Province. The few rich families endeavor to keep their horses, cattle, and grazing places within a certain group of families through marriage of close relatives, insofar as this is permitted by the Russian church. By special permission of a bishop, even cousins are permitted to marry. In one case, known to the author, a man lived with his niece, a marital relation forbidden by the Church, though his neighbors avoided mentioning this irregularity to strangers.

The old Yakut clan was governed by family representatives or a family council in which women very often played a conspicuous rôle. After the Russian conquest of Yakut Province, clan ties became less important and the family head more despotic.

The Yakut were warlike and blood vengeance between clans occurred very often, but reconciliation was often sought through payment of a ransom or by giving a girl in marriage, the best way to end hostilities. It was more difficult to compound assassinations within the clan. To kill the murderer would deprive the clan of another member and the punishment had to take the form of ransom, service, or public disapproval.

7: Shklovsky -- 50 [2] T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116, 539, 582, 614

"The Yakut chooses his wife from another clan. 'The bride who dwells among her own people cannot be happy,' says the Yakutian proverb, and 'Happy is the daughter who marries far away from the parental home."

16: Great Britain Admiralty -- 168 G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut
116, 177, 582, 836, 614

"The clans consist of blood relations. Their marriages are exogamous, but the influence of their neighbours, the Yukaghir, has led the Artic Yakuts to introduce endogamous marriage, and the frequent sexual relations that take place before marriage are always endogamous."

19: Kharuzin -- 39-40 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut -1-2
116. 582, 614

The clan system of the Yakuts of the Yakutsk district finds its expression in the following principal features:

...Each clan, or subdivision of a clan, taking its descent from one progenitor, possesses a definite territory, the rights to which derive from occupation and remoteness. From generation to generation, the kinsmen use the same sections of land or fishing sites which they possessed in the olden time. In its agrarian aspect the clan thus represents an isolated group, although at present, in the majority of cases, the community of neighbors has taken the place of the clan.

...In general, kinship ties play a very important role among the Yakuts in the question of wedlock. Up to the present the clan constitutes an exogamic group. While paying little attention to relationship [RCH: i.e., geneological relationship] as an obstacle to marriage, the Yakuts [40], according to M. Pripuzov, not only consider kinship [RCH: i.e., patrilineal kinship] up to five removes an obstacle to marriage, but in general do not take wives from their own clan. Formerly, rich Yakuts even sought, insofar as possible, to secure wives for their sons from other naslegi. Inasmuch, on the other hand, as kinship through the female line is not taken into account in the making of marriages, data communicated by Prince Kostrov(1) demonstrate that not only father and

1. Ocherk iuridicheskoe by-ta Iakutov p. 277

son or two brothers can marry their own sisters-german [RCH: presumably cousins who are not members of the patrilineal kin group] but an uncle can take to wife his own neice (the daughter of his sister). Inasmuch as such marriages are not permitted by the local priesthood, the Yakuts have resort to the following friction: the betrothed hires his fiancée, in the capacity of a servant, and lives with her sometimes throughout his whole life as if she were his wife. The recollection that all kinsfolk bear the same clan surname has led to the prohibition of marriages between individuals of the same name, if they live in the same locality.

19: Kharuzin -- 41 [2] E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 582, 597, 608, 614

The exclusiveness of the clan structure finds expression among the Yakuts of the Yakutsk district in the fact that entrance into the clan for an outsider is almost impossible. Cases of adoption of strangers into the family are in fact encountered among the Yakuts, but only girls are accepted from a strange clan. The adoption of children of the male sex is practiced between close relations or in the most extreme case within the confines of the clan. The adopted child takes the name of the adoptive father, is considered a close relation of the members of the family of the latter, in consequence of which marriage between them and the adopted child is forbidden.

Artificial kinship, in addition to cases of adoption, is also established through foster kinship [BK; in Russian, molochnim rodstvom, literally, "by milk kinship," presumably referring to cases in which adoption is based on suckling of child by woman of the adoptive family]; it is considered as significant as blood kinship. As concerns the swearing of brothership, the almost universal mode of establishing artifical kinship, M. Pripuzov confirms the conclusion, to which M. Sieroszewski apparently also arrives, that at the present time it has fallen into desuetude among the Yakuts. Its existence at a former time, however, is to a certain degree proved by the traditions of the Yakuts.

19: Kharuzin --51-52 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-1-2
116, 562, 582, 584, 884

The Yakut is not in the full possession of his rights until he is married. The unmarried son cannot even ask for a share of the family goods without a particularly valid reason, even if he does not live with his father, for instance, when there is an older son in the family. Only after marriage does the grown-up Yakut step forth as an independent personality. In the question of marriage the authority of the father over the person of his son finds graphic expression. It is true that, in the words of Mr. Pripuzov, in the selection of a bride for the son, or of a bridegroom for the daughter, the consent of the mother carries more weight than that of the father. In this privilege of the women before the man, which, incidentally, is guaranteed by nothing more than moral principles, is contained the only advantage of the wife and mother. But the authority of the father expresses itself above all in the right to give in marriage his under-age son or daughter. The information communicated, for example, by Mr. Shchukin (Zh. M. V. D. [RCH: I have been unable to determine what these initials stand for] 1854, VII, p. 26), that the Yakut himself selects his bride and announces his choice to his parents, is confirmed neither by Mr. Pripuzov nor by other investigators. On the contrary, marriages, or at least betrothals, of under-age children, appear to be very widespread, even at the present time among the Yakuts. "As formerly, so now," writes Mr. Pripuzov, "the Yakuts marry off young children, for which purpose the parents come to an agreement, determining the bride price, and the children have a church marriage upon coming of age." [52] On the basis of other sources there is even reason to consider the betrothal of

19: Kharuzin --51-52 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-2
116, 562, 582, 584, 884

young children almost general among the Yakuts: this is done with the object of easing the payment of the bride price, payment of which, in installments, is begun by the parents of the bridegroom immediately after the conclusion of the agreement. "With the payment of the first installments of the bride price, the child-bridegroom acquires, so to speak conjugal rights with respect to his bride, who herself is still but a child. He is often a guest at the home of his future wife, sleeps with her and, having grown up, becomes her factual husband." (Vsesoiuznoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo, Vostochno-Sibirskii Otdel, Izviestiia, XXVI, No. 4-5, p. 214).

over land), thereby sustaining the fiction of community of clan interests. A poor kinsman used to call a toyon who had robbed him of his possessions aga (father), and was expected to look upon him as his "benefactor."

Family Customs

The primary unit in the social structure of the Yakuts had long been the family (kergen or yal), which consisted of husband, wife and children, sometimes with the inclusion of other relatives living in the same house. The married sons were usually regarded as a separate household. The family was monogamous, but not too long ago (at the beginning of the 19th century) polygamy also existed among the wealthier section of the population, although the number of wives did not usually exceed two or three. In such cases the wives lived apart, each one running a separate household; the Yakuts explained this custom as a convenient way of looking after the livestock, which were distributed among several wives.

Marriage was preceded, sometimes for a long interval, by matchmaking. There were also traces of exogamy (known from the 17th-century documents); until quite late, males tried to pick their wives from a different clan, while the richer people, not satisfied with this, sought their brides as far as possible in other naslegs or even other ulusy. Having selected the bride, the groom or his parents sent their relatives as matchmakers. The latter, using special ceremonies and conventional language, sought to obtain the consent of the future bride's parents to the marriage, and on the extent of the bride-price (khalyym, or suluu). The consent of the girl herself was not asked at all in the old days. The bride-price consisted of livestock, but the extent of it varied considerably, from one or two to many dozen head; the bride-price always included the meat of a slaughtered beast. At the end of the 19th century there was a strong trend towards taking the bride payment in actual money. Some of the payment (kurum) was spent on the wedding feast (in the 17th-century documents, the word kurum sometimes meant the bride payment as a whole). The payment was considered compulsory, and a girl who married without it considered herself dishonored. The suitor was assisted by relatives, sometimes even by distant kinsmen, in arranging the payment, thus showing the ancient view of a wedding as an all-clan affair. The relatives of the bride also took part in distributing the payment obtained. On his side, the suitor received a dowry (enn'e), partly in livestock and meat, but more often in clothing and utensils; the value of the dowry averaged half the value of the bride-price.

The clan also played an important part in the actual wedding ceremony, which was attended by a large number of guests, relatives of the bride and groom, neighbors and so on. The festivities lasted several days and consisted of extensive feasting, different rituals and amusements, games, dancing, and so on. Not only did the bride and groom refrain from occupying the central place in all this festivity, they hardly took part at all.

In similar fashion to the wedding ceremony, the kinship terminology has also retained traces of the earlier forms of marriage. The name for the son—uol—actually means boy or youth; the word for daughter—kyys—means girl or little girl; father is *aga* (literally, "older"); wife is oyokh, but in some places the wife is simply called d'akhtar (woman), emeekhsin ("old woman") and so on; the husband is er, the older brother is ubay (bii), the younger brother is ini; the elder sister is ed'iy (agas) and the younger sister is balys. The last four terms are also used to denote uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, and other relatives. Generally speaking,